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B. Minor Parties and "Pressure Politics"

- 664 In a democracy, the degree of political
665 activity of the minor parties determines the true measure of democracy. Likewise, special interest groups as such can enjoy their political privilege to influence public opinion or, through minor parties, participate in policy-making. In Communist China, where minor parties have only assigned duties to perform and where public information is monopolized by the Party, they exert no "pressure" upon the state organs which the Communist Party of China dominates, nor do they take part in policy-making.

On the other hand, deputies of the minor parties were allowed to make speeches and urged to comment on government policy at each session of the All-People's Conference. However, only praise for the Communist was expressed, with occasional criticism of faults the Communists themselves had already admitted publicly. One cannot tell whether their enthusiasm was, after all, spontaneous or a pretense.

CONCLUSION

- 665 The Communist Party since assumption of power has succeeded in consolidating its position in the East China Region. It has also succeeded, to a certain degree, in the maintenance of a militant and efficient Party

CHAPTER II

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BACKGROUND FACTORS

633 THE GENERAL ATTITUDE of the Chinese residents towards the
 648 international but foreign administration in the Settlement was a
 basic factor which had to be taken into consideration in the efforts
 to create a municipal instrument designed to achieve social progress.
 No patriotic Chinese citizen could approve a situation in which
 part of his country was alienated from the direction of the Chinese
 government, notwithstanding its prosperity and progressiveness in
 peaceful times, and however useful the existence of such areas had
 proved to the Chinese people in times of distress and civil disturbance.
 Until 1926 the membership of the Shanghai Municipal Council had
 been entirely non-Chinese: in that year Chinese councillors were
 chosen, taking their seats in 1928. In 1930 the number was increased
 to five. For those accepting seats to agree to associate themselves
 with the foreign administration, and for Chinese civic organizations
 to elect such members, meant a compromise with their national
 feelings, though this was perhaps tempered by satisfaction that
 the ranks had been opened to them. Though they had chosen to
 reside in the International Settlement in Shanghai it could be said
 of no large number of Chinese that they had any warm attachment
 to the administration which controlled it.

633 Relationships between the people and an administration are not
 648 a matter of remote and academic attitudes. They are the every-
 664 day contacts between the people and the employees of the admin-
 208 istration at the level where the people live. They are the relations
 between the people and the individual members of the police force,
 with the health inspectors, with the building inspectors and so on.
 The majority of Shanghai municipal posts carrying responsibility
 were filled by foreign members of staff, chiefly of British nationality
 though with a sprinkling of Continental European, American and
 Japanese staff. In 1930, after one of the periodical staff surveys,
 it was accepted in principle that qualified Chinese would be ap-

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appointed in greater numbers to senior positions. This decision was somewhat slowly implemented. When the Japanese occupation of the Settlement took place in December 1941 there were in the general Council service still comparatively few Chinese of specialist training. The total Chinese staff was nevertheless much larger than the foreign, comprising many in clerical grades and in lower police ranks. The majority of the Council's staff were men of high professional achievement and sterling character. This did not preclude the currency in the community of criticisms against municipal employees. It could be said also that there were residents who were ready to escape compliance with the requirements if they could.

Such attitudes toward the administration and its staff did not make easy the beginnings of a Division which found it essential to obtain the confidence of the people. Moreover, as the preceding chapter shows, the actual issue as to whether the Shanghai Municipal Council should exercise any controls over industrial enterprises and so over labour in the Settlement, was a political one over which feelings ran high. To the more or less passive resistance on the part of sections of the Chinese community to the foreign administration was added a specific resistance in the concern of the Council with Chinese labour matters, a reaction which was national and emotional in origin and was kept up by propaganda means.

The Chinese population in the International Settlement enjoyed complete freedom of expression. This freedom was exercised particularly in criticism of the Settlement administration. Through powerful newspapers and through a Chinese Ratepayers' Association a constant pressure was maintained on the administration, and this was by no means unaffected by it. It has therefore to be realised that a potent influence was exercised by the Chinese population thus vocal and free.

Important, too, when the creation of a Division with social aims was under way, was the attitude of the Chinese residents toward the social situation, as well as that of the Council. There was a general acceptance on the part of both of prevailing poverty. The Council's acquiescence sprang from the traditional interpretation of its responsibilities imposed in the charter of administration, the Land Regulations. It was argued, not without logic though perhaps at the expense of imagination, that the limited revenues available